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ABSTRACT

Coverage of the New Bedford Massachusetts "Big Dan's Tavern Rape Trial" by Cable News Network (CNN) television cameras was ostensibly for educational purposes, to examine how rape victims are treated in court and how the judicial process works in general. However, the sensational nature of the trial strongly suggests that it was televised only to increase ratings. While the camera angles and pacing of the trial were largely dissimilar to soap operas or other daytime programs, the content of the trial approximated soap opera. Moreover, the educational value of the trial coverage was compromised because the victim's name and face were never shown, while the defendants', the judge's, and the lawyers' faces were often captured in close-ups, leading television audiences to be distanced from and unsympathetic to the victim, and more sympathetic to the defendants. The current process for selecting trials that will receive television coverage will likely produce more televised sensational sex-crime trials. It is therefore important that judges, attorneys, and victims understand how broadcasting such trials affects their outcome and public perception, rather than believing the myths of the televised trial. (Two pages of notes, examples of types of camera shots, results of trial shot size evaluations, and three pages of references are included.) (JC)

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# Rape Trial Coverage on Trial:

# The Myth, The Reality, The Result

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Rape Trial Coverage on Trial:
The Myth, The Reality, The Result

The television storyline was:

Scene I: On March 6, 1983 a 22-year-old unwed mother of two,partially undressed and emotionally distraught, flagged down a passing motorist and cried for help. She told police that she had gone to Big Dan's Tavern in New Bedford, Massachusetts to buy a pack of cigarettes and then sat down with the only other woman at the bar and ordered a drink. When she tried to leave the bar she was dragged to a pool table where she was pinned down and brutally raped by six men in the presence of many witnesses--some of whom allegedly cheered the men on (Colony Communication, 1984).

Scene II: As a result of these allegations, six men from the Portuguese community were charged with aggravated rape. The trial was held in a courtroom crowded with supporters of the defendants, newspaper reporters and television equipment. A model of Big Dan's Bar was placed before the jury to assist them in visualizing the logistics of the alleged events.

Lurid details emerged. From one of the accused rapists: "I put my hands inside her pants and she unbuttoned her button...the two of us fell to the floor. She was laughing, I was laughing, I started pulling her pants. She was willing..."(Henry, 1984). From the eyewitness bartender speaking through his translator: "She had three drinks before the alleged attack and at one point had her arms around one of the defendants."(Colony Communications, 1984). Other witnesses said the victim had kicked, screamed, pleaded and cried (Colony Communications). From the alleged victim: " I was begging for help. I was pleading. I was screaming...One of the two and another man tried to force me to have oral sex while a fourth told me not to resist and that he wouldn't hurt me. Others laughed and coaxed on the attackers.. They were cheering like at a baseball game (Colony Communications).

Scene III: The verdict left four convicted, two acquitted, and a victim who could not go home again. The camera zoomed in on the tear drenched face of one young defendant. The emotions of the victim were unrecorded.

Scene IV: Hours after the close of the trial, 10,000 local people poured into the streets. The protest leaders explained that the march was to show solidarity for the Portuguese community and to "oppose the attack on our heritage." A woman shouted from the mob "They should hang <u>her</u>. As Mike Royko later noted in his column, "It was the largest 'save -the-rapist' march in modern history" ( Blakely, 1984).

Scene V: In 1987 the victim, having chosen to make a new start in Florida, was killed in a car crash.

The ratings garnered by this television production were excellent. The story was true; the names were not changed to protect the innocent. Do to the unusual and sensational nature of the case, the rape itself created a great deal of controversy among women's groups and within the New Bedford community with a 60% Portuguese population. However, the decision by the Cable News Network (CNN) to cablecast the trial nationally created even more controversy within the already controversial issue of allowing television cameras into the courtroom.

This essay examines the televised trial in terms of the selection process and the mediation process which includes the conventions of production (i.e.genre), and audience processing. It further explores the messages provided for the general public and for participants within the trial process. In order to understand the issues and implications of the trials selected for extensive television coverage, this essay utilizes a case study of the rape trial given the most extensive television coverage to date--the 1984 case tried in Fall River,Massachusetts and commonly known as the Big Dan's Tavern case.

## The Selection Process

A recurring theme found within televised trials is sex. Sex sells whether as adultery, child molestation or rape.
The stated intent for the coverage came under the heading of public education and the public's right to know. According to The New York Times, other broadcasters involved in news and information gathering supported the stated intent. "CNN and other news organizations will continue to look for 'newsworthy' trials.

Both in the case of sex-crime trials and others they believe to be of 'public interest,' they have stated an intent to broadcast"(Kaplan, 1984). A senior vice president of ABC news said: "Our writ is that we should be the eyes and ears of people across the country. If [an event has] been seen fit to be public, then I tend to think it should be televised" (Salhoz et.al. 1984). However, lest we lose sight of the purpose of this study, we should include one last statement made by a CNN spokesperson which helps us discuss the trial coverage within the definition of "entertainment," rather than as "public education." Asked why the network found the case so interesting, executive producer LaMotte cited the brutality of the crime, the upheaval in the community, "and, of course, there was the cheering" (Friendly, 1984c).

The reports of the alleged crime attracted significant pre-indictment and pretrial public attention. Judge William G. Young, the presiding judge, decided to allow both photographic and broadcast coverage of the trial process. The electronic media coverage authorized by the judge's order precipitated a pool feed for CNN and three other television news enterprises (De Silva, 1984). These included Colony Communications (a Rhode Island cable system) as well as local radio coverage. His avowed explanation for permitting television coverage echoed the sentiments of those who valued such coverage as the opportunity for public education. In fact, Judge Young was instrumental in having video tapes of the pool feed produced by Colony Communication donated to the video library maintained at Harvard

Law School. When told by Ellen Miller, the director of the video library that the authors of this paper were making use of these tapes in their research, Judge Young expressed his great pleasure in seeing these tapes used for the educational and scholarly purposes for which he had intended them.

We suggest that viewing the coverage as only educational or journalistic is a myth. The reality was that the audience viewed the trial as good television.

> As the trial progressed, there was an unusual level of interest in the coverage. While it may not have been surprising for a local radio station to find sufficient demand to run live coverage of the entire trial, it certainly was unexpected that CNN would find the same level of demand across the country. Although CNN originally intended only to offer brief excerpts of the trial, it ended up televising everything (Carter, 1985).

We suggest that because it made good television producers presented the rape trial and will continue to present similar cases under the guise of public education. They know that their ratings go up and, it is our contention that they do because of the trial's entertainment value rather than educational value. On the subject of the intense attention paid to the gang rape trial, one CNN staff writer said, "Let's face it, they are running the trial because of its sexy nature. I do not think any of us is so naive as to believe that ratings are not a factor. And rating are up" (Henry, 1984).

A curious aspect of the reports in the popular press involved the treatment of the trial as a television program. The

coverage of the trial was reviewed under the "TV Review " column (Corry, 1984; Fanto, 1984)in the New York Times, as if it were just another television program. Even though in this case the program presented was nonfiction, the details and nature of the case were perfect entertainment, enhanced by the appearance on television.

The Mediation Process: Television and the Trial

Courtroom camera debate has often centered around the problem of physical disruption and harm to the decorum of the court. These concerns were evidenced in Judge Young's guidelines in which he reserved to himself the discretion to order when the cameras should be turned off (Colony Communication, 1984). Beyond that, decisions as to shooting style were left to the television crews. CNN and the local cable companies followed, perhaps unknowingly, the guidelines suggested by John Collier (1967) and frequently referred to in film and video schools as "visual anthropology." The camera is made to be as unobtrusive and as uninfluential as possible to the situation. The events "unfold" in front of the camera, the events are not scripted for the camera, but rather, are merely presented as they occur. As one television critic observed: "CNN offers no narration or interpretation during these sequences; the only sounds are the sounds of the courtroom. Viewers see the judicial process plain, without obtrusive commentary" (Corry, 1984). The coverage could be viewed a "documentary" in nature, "journalistic," and "realistic."

We suggest that although the rape trial coverage appeared "documentary" in style, the portrayal of the rape victim and the events "unfolding" in front of the camera have more in common with entertainment programming than Collier's film style. The shooting style and the placing of the trial into the environment of television determine what is perceived. The content of the trial, with its bizarre multiple rape and the controversial "cheering," could be seen as a curiosity to the television viewer. This curiosity, once presented on the television screen, begins to be molded by television, thus enhancing its role as an entertainment program more than an educational program. Regardless of stated intent, the coverage adheres to the rules of its "televising." The myth is that educational and entertainment functions of televised trials are severable. The reality is that the values embedded in entertainment control the electronic media and when a trial is televised it no longer operates within the restraints imposed by the technology of the law alone. When a trial is televised the restraints imposed by the technology of the electronic medium shapes the broadcast and imposes the entertainment value upon the audience (Drucker & Platt Hunold, 1987). The audience expected to be entertained.

Because this trial appeared on the small television screen, it assumed the more powerful characteristics of television. Our theoretical framework is that television is inherently a mode of entertainment distinguished by specific characteristics. It creates its own reality and part of that reality is the happy ending. In this case, with public opinion divided, acquittal or

conviction would have resulted in an ending which would have satisfied the audience's demand to be entertained. To conform to its entertainment function, television presents events and characters which are outside a normal, everyday routine (Altheide & Snow , 1979). The predicament and circumstances surrounding the life of the young New Bedford woman were certainly not within the realm of everyday experience for most viewers. To a degree, television provides an emotional outlet (Altheide & Snow, 1979). The viewing audience wants to be moved to some extent but the emotions cannot be too severe, realistic or personal . The 15 hours of monotone recitation from the victim helped the viewing audience feel emotions without becoming uncomfortably involved. The emotions were not strong enough to intrude on the entertainment function. Television presents stereotyped images (Altheide & Snow). The trial dialogue presented "stereotypical" allegations that "she asked for it." We therefore presume that television coverage of the Big Dan's Rape trial was entertainment. This leads to the question of what kind of entertainment program it was.

This televised trial appeared gavel-to-gavel as regular daytime programming. The local cable and CNN coverage included usual interruptions that appear on all other television formats, commercials. Additionally, CNN identified its coverage with an electronic key, and interspersed other news stories into its Big Dan's coverage. "CNN cuts away to other news during routine evidence, then lingers over lurid recollections of the incident, leading critics to wonder whether the trial is being turned into a sensational public entertainment" (Henry, 1984). The viewer

may have turned to other programming, thus editing his or her own exposure to the trial. This activity, on the part of broadcaster and viewer alike, detracts from a trials own reality and assumes television realty.

Once the trial appeared on the cable channels, comparison to extant programming genre developed naturally. Rhetorical forms that establish genres are stylistic and substantive responses to perceived (situational) demands (Campbell & Jamieson). Daytime programming is typified by three genres; the talk show, the game show and the predominant soap opera. The form and function of television genre may affect perception of televised rape trials.

The strongest direct comparison to another daytime genre is the identification with the soap opera.

> The telecast of the trial was as popular as the soaps. For some, the entertainments were interchangeable: as one addict of "All My Children" put it in an interview with The Boston Globe, 'We don't get cable here, but that's OK, because this show has a rape victim too. Rape must be 'in' this year'(The Nation, 1984).

ABC's Nightline reported :

> The words that came into millions of American households last week told a story as tawdry as any soap opera, in language sometimes more explicit than any prime-time series. But the speech was testimony, not dialogue, and the courtroom melodrama could claim the legitimacy of a news story (Henry, 1984).

The substantive features of daytime soap operas often deal with sex and fictionalized rapes are almost commonplace. Stories rely on dialogue as the "action." The structural features which characterize the soap opera genre include great shot variety, moderate pacing of shot transitions and shot size is distinguished by the use of extreme close ups. Shot transitions are generally cuts and limited quick zooms are the major camera movement[1] (Drucker & Platt Hunold, 1987).

Can the coverage of the Big Dan's rape trial be said to belong to the existing soap opera genre? To answer this question the authors studied a "video transcript" of the trial from the Colony Communication coverage.[2] A pilot study was conducted to in which 21 coders viewed the morning trial of four defendants and 20 coders viewed the afternoon trial of the remaining two defendants.[3] These coders watched half hour segments of direct and cross examination of the victim and were asked to identify shot size and camera movements or transitions. The choice of shot size ranged from extreme close up, close up, medium close up, medium shot, long shot to extreme long shot. Preliminary findings indicated that the medium shot predominated. There was significant frequency of medium close ups and close ups. Extreme close ups which are rare in genre other than soap opera were regularly present.

Camera movement was divided into the categories of zoom, pan, cut and tilt. Zooms and pans were used evenly and almost to the exclusion of other transitional devices. Therefore, we concluded that while some of the substantive elements of the soap

opera were present, many of the stylistic features differed dramatically. The trial coverage was characterized by slow pacing, shot transitions were made through camera zooms and pans and were limited in number. Coverage was characterized by slow pacing and low tension. In many instances, the coverage of the rape trial differed from the popular daytime soap opera genre.

If televised coverage of this rape trial is not of the soap opera genre, it is interesting to ask whether the sex crime trial on television can be perceived as a new genre for pornography? Assuming that television coverage of rape trials has become public entertainment, it should be recognized that the subject matter offered in testimony may include subjects previously considered taboo on such an intrusive medium. Testimony and evidence often involve sexually explicit and graphic information. Beatrice Faust (1980) indicates a direction worthy of further analysis when she states:

> It is not what is shown or described but how it is done that makes the difference...Pornography is a genre with its own conventions, like folk art... The main priority is recording the action... Pornography is an aesthetic genre that provides a variety of sexual material by emphasizing content.

Paul Gebhardt (1965) notes that there is nothing that cannot be expressed in some socially acceptable fashion. Is it possible that televised trials presented in a legitimized fashion as news could be encompassed within a broadened definition of pornography? Within the framework of the presentation of sexually explicit material, there is always the argument that,

"whatever the prurient may find interesting in this, may be overshadowed by an opportunity to seeing the judicial process at work." Steve Nevas of CNN argues that the depicition of the judicial process is "one of the greatest services that television can perform." The network's executives claim that they covered the trial for its news value and to show how rape victims are treated in court (Kaplan, 1984). The claims thus go beyond the legitimacy of a news story to the raising of social consciousness and public service. Pornography, like rape, is a male invention, designed to dehumanize women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access (Brownmiller, 1984). The rape trial coverage was designed to to protect the victim's anonymity; there was nothing human to connect with the shadow on the screen (Blakely, 1984).

In our culture it is the manner that we look to, to see if material fits into the genre of pornography which panders to the leer of the sensualist. It is significant that the rape trial coverage was introduced with an advisory from the cable stations that the case may contain "testimony that some viewers may find offensive" (Fanto, 1984).

If the rape trial coverage does not fit squarely into the soap opera genre and the argument for this coverage as a new form of pornography is speculative at best, then we return to the query: "What type of programming is this and how is it being perceived?" We believe that televised trials have formed a new and distinct daytime genre (Drucker & Platt Hunold, 1987). This finding has come from prior research and analysis of other televised trials. The coverage of this rape trial in both

content and form can be placed into this new genre. Typical elements of this genre stem from the technological restraints imposed by the legal system. Camera placement within the courtroom, lighting restrictions, prohibitions on showing certain witnesses and the use of a single camera all defined the coverage aired. Typical of this new genre is a lack of refinement in dealing with unique situational requirements. In order to comply with Judge Young's ruling that the victim was not to be photographed, the viewing audience saw a hand placed over the camera lens as the camera panned to another area of the courtroom. A controversy arose concerning the "on air" identification of the victim in violation of the judge's ruling. What was called the single flaw in the coverage was that the name of the rape victim was aired on the opening day of the trial when one of the attorneys inadvertently called her by name (Friendly, 1984b). Larry LaMotte, an executive producer at CNN said it was technically possible to delay live broadcasts 7 to 12 seconds, but the judge did not ask that the coverage be edited. Therefore, according to LaMotte, the network felt no pressure to take on "additional responsibility" for the trial coverage (Friendly, 1984a).

## Messages for the Public and Participants in the Trial Process

The televising of the Big Dan's rape trial may have molded public understanding of this trial and rape trials in general. The stated intent of the cable systems was to cover the

trial for its news value and to educate the public about how rape victims are treated in court (Henry, 1984). Many rape laws require proof that the victim resisted her attacker. In a national survey of prosecutors conducted by the Battelle Memorial Institute the amount of force used by the defendant and the level of resistance offered by the victim were found to be critical factors in procuring a conviction (Weninger,1978). As Judith Rowland, a pioneer in developing legal strategies for the prosecution of rapists asks, "What other crime in the entire Anglo-American system of criminal justice required a victim to prove something?" (1985). A favored theme of defense and often a yardstick for jurors is the sexual history of the victim as a test of credibility (Rowland). Where there is "contributory behavior" on the part of the woman such as hitchhiking, juries have been found be extremely lenient towards the defendant (Estrich, 1987). It is not only the defendant who is placed on trial.

It was thought that a televised trial could instruct the public as to indignities suffered by a rape victim both as a result of the rape and the trial. It was hoped that this could change public attitudes towards rape and towards the tactic of putting the victim on trial (Blakely,1984). The trial coverage was also intended to prepare other rape victims for what they would face in court and encourage them to report and cooperate in the prosecution of the rapist(Carter, 1985). Unfortunately this was the myth.

In an effort to protect the rape victim's privacy Judge

Young's press guidelines prohibited the photographing and identification of the victim (Colony Communication, 1984). Only her voice could be heard answering questions put to her by prosecutors and defense attorneys. The public never saw her suffer. The TV cameras never showed her face...as she dispassionately related the gruesome details in a well-rehearsed monotone , as if she had been instructed not to show any emotion (Blakely, 1984). The victim was objectified. Televising demands good video. As the woman told her story the television camera crews , barred by court order from photographing the star witness, searched the courtroom interesting activity. The victim spent a total of 15 hours on the stand. The result was that much of that time the cameras zoomed in to close ups of the defendants and their families in the courtroom. The result was that the personalizing shots made them the familiar, and the testifying victim the impersonal. The viewing audience saw the emotional reactions of the defendants as they listened to the testimony and as they addressed the television camera directly from the witness stand.

Not only does prohibiting photographing of the victim reduce public empathy for her, but it may contribute to the perpetuation of the stigma attached to being raped; to the myth that she was a contributing factor responsible for the rape. This is a logical extension of a recent study which contended that concealing the name contributes to the idea that there is a stigma attached to being raped (Carter, 1985).

Commentators wrestled with the anomaly of rapists being cheered as heroes and the victim being the object of hatred

(Barber, 1986; Blakely, 1984). Call in comments to radio stations to the effect that she "led the men on" led the victim;s lawyer Scott Charnos to observe that the public was learning that it was more odious to be the rape victim than the rapist" (Barber, 1986). Such was the message to the victim.

We suggest that guidelines established to protect the victim (whose name we have chosen to omit from our paper), may have actually produced a harmful effect on the victim. The media perspective which examines ways in which the formatting and structuring features of a medium affect the apprehension of content (Chesebro, 1987) may explain why the meaning of the content of the victim's testimony was perceived in this way by some audience members. " 'Good television' is television that embodies and articulates a world of 'personalities'" (Langer, 1981). The audience saw good television only to the extent that they developed a relationship with the attorneys, judge, and defendants. The content of the trial could not be separated from the television environment . This was the reality.

Yet another message to the viewing public may be of a more general nature. Gerbner noted that televised trials which emphasize the lurid and sensational may strengthen the existing negative impressions about crime and justice shaped by portrayals in television entertainment programming (Barber, 1986). In addition, viewers may become sensitive to the brutality of cross examination of the victim rather than to the brutality of rape.

There were also messages for participants in the legal system to be found in the coverage of this trial. The attorneys trying

this case showed little awareness of the implications of the televising of this trial. They failed to adjust trial strategy to the presence of the camera. They bumped into the camera. They did not address the television audience which could ultimately include a jury viewing the tape. The possibility existed for a retrial in which members of the potential jury could have been sitting in their living rooms watching trial number one. The image projected by at least one defense attorney, Judith Lindahl, was that of impatience with the camera crew and the public they claimed to serve. As an increasing number of jurisdictions permit camera coverage of all kinds of trials, the media performance of practicing attorneys will become a factor in evaluating the quality of legal representation.

## Conclusions

To fully comprehend the implications of televising any trial, and in particular a rape trial, it is necessary to understand the media perspective. According to Chesebro, of the several principles which define this perspective, three of of particular relevance. 1) The content of communication is shaped by how the content is conveyed. 2) Communication channels are active agencies which reformat, alter, and determine how human beings respond and understand information. 3) A comprehensive view of communication requires that channels of communication be the direct object of study (Chesebro, 1986).

This essay suggests that the study of a televised rape trial necessitates an understanding of the television medium which alters the way content is received. Examination of the

entertainment environment, conventions of production and genre are useful critical tools in this endeavor. The current process for selecting the trials which will receive extensive television coverage will likely produce more of these sensational sex-crime trials. It is therefore increasingly important that judges, attorneys and victims function within the reality rather than the myth of the televised trial.

## Notes

1
Major features substantive and stylistic features which appear in current television programming were derived from suggestions of Ronald Primeau in The Rhetoric of Television (1979). The authors had approxiamately 35 undergraduate students view several hours of representative samples of each genre. This produced an exhaustive analysis of recurring characteristics of the three major daytime genres.

Major substantive features of the soap opera were found to include the following. Recurring themes dealt with unresolved conflicts over sex, romance, money,and familial relationships. The tone was serious and somber; the time frame --slow moving. Simultaneous plots were advanced by dialogue within a context of a continuing story.

Major structural features of the soap opera were determined to include cuts, extreme close ups, large shot variety, limited quick zooms and moderate pacing.

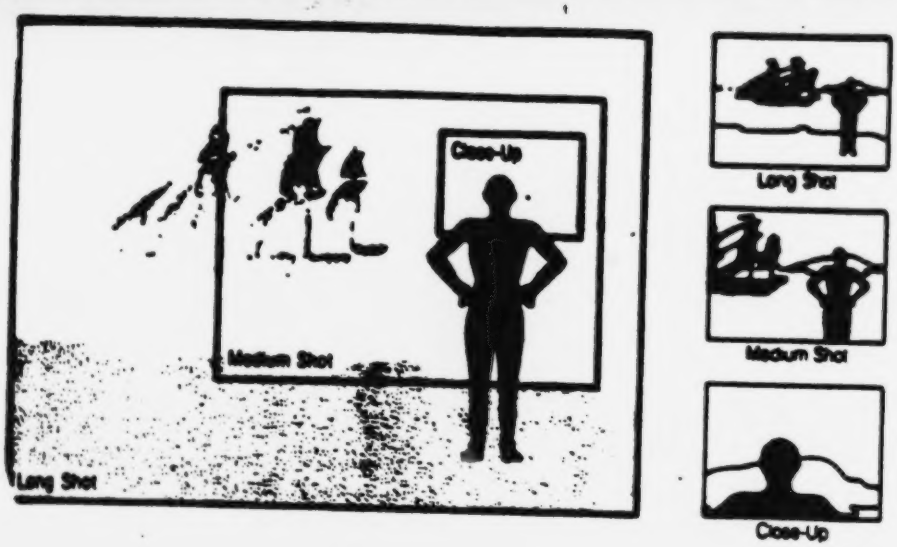
2
The pilot study of the Fall River case involved a formal features analysis. The use of structural analysis has become an accepted method of analyzing video programs. Historically, structural analysis began with film (Metz, 1974). but has since received attention by critics of video media. Formal features include shot size and shot transition. Previous formal feature analysis has been conducted. For example, (Kaminski & Miller sought to determine whether shot size affected juror perception of "strong" and "weak" videotaped witnesses (1984).

3
Judge Young separated the case into two trials because some of the defendants had made statements implicating one another. Four defendants were tried in the morning and two in the afternoon. In all, four were convicted of aggravated rape. Aggravated rape under the Massachuesetts statue involves at least one man sexually penetrating the woman in some fashion and that anyone else who helped or encouraged this also was guility because it was a joint enterprise in which all shared a common intent (Rangel, 1984).

Daniel Silva and Joseph Vieira were tried in the afternoon and were convicted. In a separate trial another jury convicted John Cordeiro and Victor Raposo. The remaining two defendants in the trial conducted in the morning, Virgilio Medeiros and Jose Medeiros , were acquitted.(see: Commonwealth v. Corderio , Commonwealth v. J. Medeiros, Commonwealth v. Medeiros, Commonwealth v. Raposo, Commonwealth v. Silvia and Commonwealth v. Vieira, Massachusetts Superior Court.

4

The authors do not propose greater regulation of the broadcasting or cablecasting of trials. We are suggesting that the legal community as well as broadcasters and audience members must understand televised trials to take into account how media, especially television are used.




## TYPES OF SHOTS

ECU--Extreme Close Up— very close camera position

CU--Close Up— isolation of elements in the shot. This normally indicates the head and shoulders of a person.

MCU—Medium Close Up— extreme medium shot.

MS—Medium Shot— provides a 3/4 view of the subject (knee to head)

LS— Long Shot— orients the audience to the subject, objects and settings by viewing them from a distance.

ELS—Extreme Long Shot— very extreme camera position.

## TYPES OF MOVEMENTS/ TRANSITIONS

Zoom— a gradual increase of the focal length of a zoom lens. THE APPARENT DISTANCE between objects is changed as objects are enlarged or contracted. Objects appear to get closer or farther away.

Pan— pivoting of the camera from side to side.

Cut— moving directly from one shot or scene to another.

Tilt— a vertical pivoting of a camera. The camera is moved up or down on a swival.

## Appendix

### Sample Results of Fall River Rape Trial
### Shot Size

Direct Examination of the Victim--Morning Session
One 30 minute segment

Number of Shot = 60
Coders= 21

| ECU | CU | MCU | MS | LS | ELS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 132 | 140 | 236 | 416 | 277 | 28 |

Cross Examination of the Victim--Afternoon Session
One 30 minute segment

Number of Shots = 38
Coders = 20

| ECU | CU | MCU | MS | LS | ELS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 113 | 210 | 188 | 152 | 126 | 6 |

| Totals: | ECU | CU | MCU | MS | LS | ELS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 245 | 350 | 424 | 568 | 277 | 28 |

## Appendix

### Sample Results of Fall River Rape Trial

### Camera Movement/Transition

Direct Examination of Victim--Morning Session
One 30 minute Segment

| ZOOMS | PANS | CUTS | TILTS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 433 | 580 | 31 | 36 |

Cross Examination of Victim--Afternoon Session
One 30 minute Segment

| ZOOMS | PANS | CUTS | TILTS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 388 | 272 | 10 | 95 |

| Totals: | ZOOMS | PANS | CUTS | TILTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 821 | 852 | 41 | 131 |

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